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Caucasia]

1.

I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

TRANSCAUCASIA

(1) Position and Frontiers

631 131 Transcaucasia in Asiatic Russia consists of the following six Governments, three Provinces, and two Districts:

	Square Miles.		*Square Miles.*
Black Sea (Chernomoria) . .	3,220	Elisavetopol . .	16,991
Kutais . . .	8,145	Batum . . .	2,693
Tiflis . . .	15,770	Kars . . .	7,239
Baku . . .	15,061	Daghestan . .	11,471
Erivan . . .	10,725	Zakatali . .	1,539
		Sukhum . .	2,545
		Total . . .	95,399

131 The northern boundary (650 miles in length) runs from Cape Taman, on the eastern side of the Straits of Kerch, along the summits of the Caucasian chain as far as Donos Mta, and thence along the north-west frontier of Daghestan to the Bay of Agrakhan on the Caspian. The western frontier, about 400 miles long, is formed by the coast of the Black Sea from the peninsula of Taman to Cape Kopmush, south of Batum. The southern frontier falls into two divisions, the Russo-Turkish and the Russo-Persian. The former starts from Cape Kopmush and runs for 348 miles south-east to Mount Ararat, where the boundaries of Russian, Turkish, and Persian territory meet. The Russo-Persian boundary (350 miles) runs south-east to a few miles east of Ordubad, where it turns to the north-east as far as the village of Karakyavendikli; thence it again turns south-east and finally reaches the

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131 Caspian at Fort St. Nicholas on the Astara. The eastern frontier, some 450 miles in length, is formed by the Caspian Sea from the Bay of Agrakhan to the River Astara.

Geographically Transcaucasia is so placed that, with the development of communications, it should reap considerable advantages from the commercial development both of northern Persia and of north-eastern Asia Minor.

(2) Surface, Coasts, and River System

Surface

133 Transcaucasia is divided across the centre from west to east by the two valleys of the Rion and Kura, the head-waters of which are separated by the low ridge of the Suram Mountains, connecting the Caucasus with the Armenian Highlands. These valleys run west and east into the Black and Caspian Seas respectively. They are roughly equivalent to the Governments of Kutais (the Rion valley), Tiflis, Elisavetopol, and Baku. The *Governments of Kutais and Tiflis* and parts of *Batum* form the region known as Georgia.

The Rion valley is narrowed in its upper part by the mountainous district of Svanetia, but begins to broaden west of Kutais, and becomes a flat, marshy plain. The Kura valley narrows about Tiflis, and then widens till, at the Mughan steppe, it is over 100 miles broad. The valley floor slopes gently east from 1,200 ft. at Tiflis to 500 ft. in the middle of its course, and 85 ft. below sea level at the Caspian. The only interruption is caused by a plateau of between 2,000 and 3,000 ft. along the southern foot-hills of the eastern Caucasus in the region known as Kakhetia.

134 The soil in the Rion and upper Kura valleys is extraordinarily fertile. On the southern slope of the Caucasus, in fact, almost every available patch of ground is successfully utilized for agriculture, even up to a height of 7,000–8,000 ft. Most of the steppes in the lower Kura valley are too dry to be cultivated without the aid of irrigation.

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(2) Political

631 The title and powers of Viceroy of the Caucasus were revived in 1905; the Viceroyalty had been abolished in 1882 in favour of a Governor-Generalship, directed and controlled by a Caucasian Committee at Petersburg.

The Viceroy's powers comprised :—the supreme civil administration of the Provinces and Governments making up the Caucasus region, the command of all the troops quartered in the Caucasus, the framing of any new regulations necessary in his administration, together with a seat on the Council of the Empire and the title of Ataman of the Cossacks in the Caucasus. There was a civil Governor at the head of each Province or Government (*gubernie*), except those of Daghestan, Sukhum, Batum, and Kars, where the Governor was a military official. The *gubernies* were divided into districts, governed by *nachalniks*, and the districts were divided into communes (*volosts*), each presided over by an elder (*volostnoi starshina*), elected by the community. The *volosts* were made up of villages under elected headmen (*starosts*), assistants to the communal elder. In each village every tenth man had to take his turn in assisting in the preservation of law and order; these were known as tenth men (*desyatniks*).

631 692 There were District Courts (*okrujni sud*) in five Transcaucasian Governments—Tiflis, Kutais, Elisavetopol, Erivan, and Baku. These also constituted courts of appeal from the lower courts. Each minor division had two stipendiary magistrates; civil cases, to the value of 2,000 roubles (£200), appeared before one, and minor police cases before the other. The rural judges (*selskiya sudya*), or the *kandidati* in their stead, investigated all complaints and settled disputes; the number of these *selskiya sudya* could not exceed twelve in each district, and their decisions were subject to the *volostnoi starshina's* approval. Beneath these officials again were elected arbitrators, to settle questions of trespass or damage to property. Appeals

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from the District Courts' decisions could be taken to the Supreme Court at Tiflis, and from that to Petersburg. The Courts were accessible and cheap, and there was no discrimination between Russian subjects and foreigners in legal proceedings; but judgements given in Russian Courts had no effect in England, nor decisions obtained in England in Russia.

The Cossack communities are divided into *stanitzas* or villages, each *stanitza* having an elected assembly of 30 members; in populous *stanitzas* one man is elected from every ten households. These assemblies have wider powers than the usual *mir* or commune, viz. division of land, assessment of taxes, regulation of schools, grain stores, cultivation, &c., and the election of elders (*ataman*) and judges.

When the Revolution occurred in 1917, the Viceroy was recalled, and the various nationalities in the Caucasus arranged representative National Assemblies; but, as chaos in the Empire increased, relations were broken off with the Central Government. A separate Transcaucasian Republic was formed, in the Government of which Armenians, Tatars, and Georgians were equally represented; and another new state called the Republic of Daghestan, under the presidency of a Lesghian of the Mohammedan faith, also emerged. The Cossacks, however, remained aloof.

(3) Educational

Public education was in the hands of the State, or was directly controlled by it. The number of persons able to read or write in the Caucasus in 1912 was only 17 per cent., and the percentage of schools to the population was very low. Some progress was made in the provision of instruction during 1912 and 1913, but the outbreak of war hindered the completion of the various schemes put forward, in particular by the towns of Anapa, Novorossiisk, Yeisk, Temryuk, Maikop, Grozni, Georgievsk, Pyatigorsk, and Stavropol in

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V

NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION, 1811–1917

175 THE tendencies and results, good and bad, of the Russian system are demonstrated in the history of Russian rule in the Caucasus. The Russians at the beginning of the nineteenth century assumed control of a country whose condition was possibly more anarchical than that of any other part of Asia, whose population was being gradually exterminated by war, plague and famine, whose political organisation and culture had almost collapsed into utter ruin and whose economic possibilities had been completely neglected.

Firstly they gave to the Transcaucasus a military security which it had never before enjoyed. For a hundred years no hostile army approached Tiflis. Consequently it may be claimed that the Russian régime not only gave to the Georgians and Armenians the possibility of developing national prosperity in peace, but preserved those peoples from the virtual extinction which has been the fate of the Armenians and other Christian races whose country lies beyond the Russian borders.

175 565 Secondly, Russian rule tended to improve the condition of the individual. The aristocracy, who during the period of Persian hegemony had led lives of idle luxury and undignified subservience to their Mussulman lords, found careers, which were at least healthier and wider, in service in the Russian Army and Civil Service. The peasants, whose lot still left much to be desired, gained on the one hand by the abolition of serfdom within the Russian Empire (1864), on the other by the increased prosperity which followed the development of communications, the establishment of schools and the introduction of modern methods of agriculture. And there developed a prosperous middle-class, for the most part Armenian and Russian, whose political rôle in the Caucasus became increasingly important.

Lastly, the peace imposed by Russian arms permitted the development of the economic resources of the country, with its subsequent general increase of prosperity and population.

643 631 But the inherent shortcomings of Russian rule were productive of grave troubles. The administrative policy was one of centralisation. Until 1882 the Caucasus was ruled by a Viceroy nominated by the Tsar and possessing supreme civil

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[1811 - 1917]

power, which gave him in effect the position of an autocratic monarch during the period of his viceroyalty. From 1882 to 1905 the administration was yet further centralised by the substitution for the Viceroy of a Governor-General, directly controlled by a Caucasian Committee at St. Petersburg. A civil Governor subordinate to the Viceroy or Governor-General ruled each Province, with the exception of those of Daghestan, Sukhum, Batum and Kars, where the Governor was a military officer. The Provinces were divided into districts, governed by officials bearing the title *nachalnik*, and the districts were divided into communes (*volost*), where the chief authority was a native elder (*volostnoi starshina*) elected by the community and assisted by a headman of each village (*starosh*). With regard to the law, small cases were tried by local magistrates; those involving more than 2,000 roubles by Russian judges in the district courts.

It will thus be seen that while the Russian administrative machine provided for a degree of local autonomy, the natives had no influence on the conduct of Caucasian or even of provincial affairs. But this system was suitable enough to the mass of the peasantry who, under native rule, had lain in still deeper servitude. The Tatar peasantry, particularly, after the termination of the national struggle for independence, reconciled themselves to Russian rule. The Georgian aristocracy, still inspired by some glimmerings of sentimental patriotism, and resenting at once the supremacy of the Russian bureaucracy, the decline of their own feudal powers, and the steady growth of an Armenian bourgeoisie, alone of all the elements in the Transcaucasus continued to foster a vivid resentment against the existing régime. The Russian policy of Russification, the chief incidents of which were the subjecting of the Georgian Autocephalous Church to the Holy Synod (1811) and the abolition of the autonomy of Svanetia (1833) and of Mingrelia (1867), roused them more than once to sporadic revolt. Thus risings, partly nationalist and partly agrarian in character, in which members of the nobility led the peasant bands, took place at different dates—in Imeretia (1821), in Guria (1822) and in Mingrelia (1857).

During the same period, and parallel with the political discontent, the patriotic literary revival, initiated during the previous century by Vakhtang VI and Prince Vakhusht, was developed, and a school arose of aristocratic journalists and poets, chief of whom were Alexander and Ilia Chavchavadze, Giorgi Eristavi (a Decabrist), Grigor Orbelian and Ivané

C. G. 361 342 over the wooden lattice of the horizontal roof frame. These flat roofs are also much used for growing cereals, vegetables, curing meat, etc. The sakhli is also the common type of house in most parts of Anatolia and Iran, where we also find the staircase-like arrangement of the sakhlis on the mountain slopes.

C. G. 628 These are the lands where the kings of Sak'art'velo or the Emirs and Khans of Shirvan and Arran had no say, nor did the Caliph in Baghdad or the Roman Emperor have any authority, with the result that feuds were fought right on the spot. Thus, there were times when not only one aul fought another, but even one clan or family fought another within the same aul. Hence the many small castles; hence a man always carried his kinzhal; hence such customs as the vendetta, the qan-alma (Turkic: "taking of blood"), which have been preserved there down to the present time. Svanet'ia consists of three small lands: Free Svanet'ia, Svanet'ia of the Dadishkeliani, and Svanet'ia of the Dadiani, the latter two named after the families of their former overlords. Many pagan elements are found in the Eastern Orthodox religion of these valiant mountaineers, although to a lesser degree than is true of the Oset'i, as mentioned above, or some of the Dagestanians, who were later converted to Islam.

C. G. 631

C. G. 771

*175 Mountaineer's Republic. With its collapse, and with the withdrawal of interested Western powers, however, all these states remained on their own and in 1920 they ceased to exist one after the other.

*175 The Bolshevik Russians after the
-[631] difficulties of the first years reorganized the area along the Soviet Socialistic Republic principles. Whereas the Republics were set up on the nationality basis the oblast and kray divisions had been accepted rather along the lines of economic consideration. Materially the whole area has without doubt advanced. Spiritually, however, the Caucasus remained dissatisfied and with the German advances during World War II a whole series of problems popped up and showed the real state of
*175 affairs. Ostensibly to punish collectively
661 some Caucasian peoples for alleged crimes, in reality to further Russification, a whole series of peoples were exterminated by the Russians. The Czarist liquidation of Crimean Turks and Circassians was followed now by steps against the Paleocaucasian Chechen-Ingush people, and against the Balkars and Karachays of Turkic, and against the Kalmyks of Mongolian origin. There have even been accusations of Bolshevik genocide of the Crimean Turks, but this accusation is only partially justified. The overwhelming majority of the Crimean Turks

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45. Legend: Political Divisions

631

I Armenian SSR
- a. Kirovakan Okrug
- b. Leninakan Okrug
- c. Yerevan Okrug

II Azerbaijan SSR
1. Baku Oblast
2. Cyanja Oblast
3. Nagorno-Karabakh AO
4. Nakhichevan' ASSR

III Georgian SSR
1. Abkhaz ASSR
2. Ajar ASSR
3. Kutaisi Oblast
4. South Ossetian AO
5. Tbilisi Oblast

IV RSFSR
1. Astrakhan' Oblast
2. Dagestan ASSR
   - a. Buynaksk Okrug
   - b. Derbent Okrug
   - c. Izberbash Okrug
   - d. Makhachkala Okrug
3. Groznyy Oblast
4. Krasnodar Kray
   - A. Adyge AO
5. Rostov Oblast
6. Stavropol' Kray
   - A. Cherkess AO
   - B. Kabardian ASSR
   - C. North Ossetian ASSR

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I. Area and Population of Chief Political Divisions

Name of Division	Area in square kilometers		Population estimate (based on 1954 election districts)	
Astrakhan Oblast	76,900		750,000	
Rostov Oblast	62,500		1,800,000	
Krasnodar Krai	85,000		3,300,000	
Adyge A		4,400		300,000
Stavropol' Krai	99,100		1,650,000	
Cherkess AO		4,000		150,000
Kabardian ASSR	11,800		300,000	
North Ossetian ASSR	9,200		450,000	
Groznyi Oblast	33,000		600,000	
Daghestan ASSR	38,200		900,000	
Northern Caucasus	415,700		9,750,000	

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Name of Division	Area in square kilometers		Population estimate (based on 1954 election districts)	
Azerbaidzhan SSR	85,700		3,100,000	
Nakhichevan' ASSR		5,200		110,000
Nagorno-Karabakh AO		4,500		110,000
Georgian SSR	76,400		3,550,000	
Abkhaz ASSR		8,700		330,000
Adzhar ASSR		2,900		200,000
South Ossetian AO		3,900		100,000
Armenian SSR	29,800		1,500,000	
Transcaucasia	191,900		8,150,000	

4. SVAN

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Shwan, sing. Mushwän, Mushwni.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Svan, Svanetians
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Svany, Svanety.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Svani; the country: Svaneti

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 15,756 (Russian census)
1926 13,218 (Russian census, ethn.)
13,142 (Russian census, ling.)
The 1926 numbers are very low and must be due to some misunderstanding. The Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia (1st ed.) Vol. 50 (1944), p. 371, gives the number of the Svan as over 23,000.

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Two valleys S of Mt. El'brus, one of the upper Tskhenis-Tskali and its tributary the Kheledula (Sv. of the Dadiani), the other of the upper Ingur (West: Sv. of the Dadishkeliani, East: Free Sv.) Georgian SSR)

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: The Svan language is a member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-family, to which belong further Migrelo-Laz (Zan), and Georgian, the latter languages forming one group as against Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

C G 231 SUBDIVISIONS: Historically, Svanetia fell into three parts, Svanetia of the Dadiani, Svanetia of the Dadishkeliani, Free Svanetia.

POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

631 The Caucasus region forms part of four of the sixteen constituent republics that make up the Soviet Union. The Northern Caucasus is essentially within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) while Trans-caucasia is divided into three union republics of Azerbaidzhan, Georgia and Armenia.

The Northern Caucasus is divided into Rostov Oblast, Astrakhan' Oblast, Krasnodar Krai, Stavropol' Krai, Groznyi Oblast and three autonomous republics -- Kabardian ASSR, North Ossetian ASSR and Daghestan ASSR. In addition, there are two autonomous oblasts contained in the krais: the Adyge Autonomous Oblast in Krasnodar Krai and the Cherkess Autonomous Oblast in Stavropol' Krai. The city of Rostov = on = Don and the Black Sea resort of Sochi are jurisdictionally directly under the central RSFSR Government on the same basis as the krais, oblasts and autonomous republics.

The Azerbaidzhan SSR contains two autonomous units. They are the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, inhabited chiefly by Armenians, and the Nakhichevan' ASSR, inhabited by Azerbaidzhan Turks, but separated physically from the Azerbaidzhan SSR proper.

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631 The Georgian SSR contains three autonomous units. They are the Abkhaz ASSR, the Adzhar ASSR and the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast. The Armenian SSR contains no autonomous units.

All the major territorial units, in turn, are divided into independent cities and raions directly under the administration of the krai, oblast, or autonomous republic government.

A list of all these units as of March, 1956, follows:

ROSTOV-ON-DON (city under RSFSR jurisdiction)

ROSTOV OBLAST (Capital: Rostov on Don)

Independent cities:

Bataysk
Novocherkassk
Taganrog

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• 631 Raions and Raion Centers:

Aksaiskii	Aksaiskaia
Aleksandrovskii	Aleksandrovka
Anastasievskii	Anastasievka
Azovskii	Azov
Bagaevskii	Bagaevskaia
Dubovskii	Dubovskoe
Kagal'nitskii	Kagal'nitskaia
Kuybyshevskii	Kuybyshevo
Martynovskii	Bol'shaia Martynovka
Matveevo-Kurganskii	Matveev-Kurgan
Mechetinskii	Mechetinskaia
Miasnikovskii	Chaltyr'
Neklinovskii	Pokrovskoe
Novocherkasskii	Novocherkassk
Orlovskii	Orlovskaia
Peschanokopskii	Peschanokopskoe
Proletarskii	Proletarskaia
Razvilenskii	Razvil'noe
Remontnenskii	Remontnoe
Rodionovo-Nesvetaiskii	Rodinovo-Nesvetaiskoe
Romanovskii	Romanovskaia
Sal'skii	Sal'sk
Samarskii	Samarskoe
Semikarakorskii	Semikarakorskaia
Stepnovskii	Stepnoe
Taganrogskii	Taganrog
Tselinskii	Tselina

• 631 Raions and Raion Centers (cont.)

Veselovskii	Veselyi
Egorlykskii	Egorlykskaia
Zapadnyi	Bashanta
Zavetinskii	Zavetnoe
Zimovnikovskii	Zimovniki

ASTRAKHAN' OBLAST (Capital: Astrakhan')
Independent city: Astrakhan'

Raions:

Chernoiarskii	Chernyi Iar
Ikrianinskii	Ikrianoe
Kamyziakskii	Kamyziak
Kapustinoiarskii	Kapustin Iar
Kaspiiskii	Kaspiiskii
Kharabalinskii	Kharabali
Krasnoiarskii	Krasnyi Iar
Limanskii	Liman
Marfinskii	Marfino
Narimanovskii	Zatsarevo
Nikol'skii	Nikol'skoe
Privolzhskii	Privolzhskii
Sasykol'skii	Sasykoli
Travinskii	Obraztsovo-Travino
Vladimirovskii	Vladimirovka
Enotaevskii	Enotaevka
Zelenginskii	Zelenga

631 SOCHI (city under RSFSR jurisdiction)

KRASNODAR KRAI (Capital: Krasnodar)

Independent cities:

Krasnodar
Armavir
Kropotkin
Novorossiysk
Tuapse
Eysk

Raions:

Abinskii	Abinskaia
Adlerskii	Adler
Anapskii	Anapa
Apsheronskii	Apsheronsk
Beloglinskii	Belaia Glina
Belorechenskii	Belorechenskaia
Briukhovetskii	Briukhovetskaia
Gelendzhikskii	Gelendzhik
Goriache-Kliuchevskii	Goriachii Kliuch
Gul'kevichskii	Gul'kevichi
Kaganovichskii	Popovichevskaia
Kanevskii	Kanevskaia
Kavkazskii	Kavkazskaia
Korenovskii	Korenovskaia
Krasnoarmeiskii	Krasnoarmeiskaia
Krylovskii	Ekaterinovskaia
Krymskii	Krymskaia
Kurganinskii	Kurgannaia
Kushchevskii	Kushchevskaia
Labinskii	Labinsk
Lazarevskii	Lazarevskoe

631 KRASNODAR KRAI -- Raions (cont.)

Neftegorskii	Khadyzhensk
Novo-Kubanskii	Novo-Kubanskaia
Novo-Pokrovskii	Nov-Pokrovskaia
Novo-Titarovskii	Novo-Titarovskaia
Otradnenskii	Otradnaia
Pavlovskii	Pavlovskaia
Plastunovskii	Dinskaia
Primorsko-Akhtarskii	Primorsko- Akhtarsk
Psebayskii	Psebay
Severskii	Severskaia
Shcherbinovskii	Staro-Shcherbinovskaia
Slavianskii	Slavianskaia
Sovetskii	Sovetskaia
Spokoynenskii	Spokoynaia
Stalinskii	Leningradskaia
Staro-Minskii	Staro-Minskaia
Tbilisskii	Tbilisskaia
Temriukskii	Temriuk
Tikhoretskii	Tikhoretsk
Timashevskii	Timashevskaia
Tuapsinskii	Tuapse
Tul'skii	Tul'skaia
Uspenskii	Uspenskaia
Ust'-Labinskii	Ust'-Labinskaia
Vyselkovskii	Vyselki
Iaroslavskii	Iaroslavskaia
Eyskii	Eysk

631 Adyge Autonomous Oblast (Capital: Maykop)

Independent city: Maykop

Raions:

Giaginskii	Giaginskaia
Koshekhabl'skii	Koshekhabl'
Krasnogvardeyskii	Nikolaevskoe
Maykopskii	Maykop
Shovgenovskii	Khakurinokhabl'
Takhtamukaiskii	Takhtamukay
Teuchezhskii	Ponezhukay

STAVROPOL' KRAI (Capital: Stavropol')

Independent cities:

Stavropol'
Kislovodsk
Piatigorsk
Stepnoy
Essentuki
Zheleznovodsk

Raions:

Aleksandrovskii	Aleksandrovskoe
Apanasenkovskii	Divnoe
Apollonskii	Novo-Pavlovskaia
Arzgirskii	Arzgir
Blagodarnenskii	Blagodarnoe
Budennovskii	Budennovsk
Chernozemel'skii	Krasnyi Kamyshanik
Dmitrievskii	Takhta
Georgievskii	Georgievsk

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STAVROPOL' KRAI -- Raions (cont.)

631

Ipatovskii	Ipatovo
Izobil'nenskii	Izobil'noe
Klukhorskii	Kluhkori
Kursavskii	Kursavka
Kurskii	Kurskaia
Levokumskii	Levokumskaia
Libknekhtovskii	Ol'ginskoe
Mineralovodskii	Mineral'nye Vody
Molotovskii	Molotovskoe
Nevinnomysskii	Nevinnomyssk
Novo-Aleksandrovskii	Novo-Aleksandrovskaia
Novoselitskii	Novoselitskoe
Petrovskii	Petrovskoe
Shpakovskii	Kugul'ta
Spitsevskii	Spitsevka
Stepnovskii	Stepnoe
Stepnoi	Stepnoi
Suvorovskii	Suvorovskaia
Trunovskii	Trunovskoe
Turkmenskii	Letniaia Stavka
Ust'-Dzhegutinskii	Ust'-Dzhegutinskaia
Vorontsovo-Aleksandrovskii	Vorontsovo-Aleksandrovskoe
Voroshilovskii	Mikhaylovskoe
Zelenchukskii	Zelenchukskaia

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631 Cherkess Autonomous Oblast

Independent city: Cherkessk

Raions:

Ikon-Khalkovskii	Adyge-Khabl'
Kirovskii	Ispravnaia
Khabezskii	Khabez

KABARDIAN ASSR (Capital: Nal'chik)

Independent city: Nal'chik

Raions:

Baksanskii	Baksan
Chegemskii	Chegem
El'brusskii	Zayukovo
Kubinskii	Kuba
Leskenskii	Staryi Lesken
Mayskii	Mayskii
Nagornyi	Sarmakovo
Nal'chikskii	Nartan
Primalkinskii	Soldatskaia
Prokhladnenskii	Prokhladnyi
Sovetskii	Sovetskoe
Terskii	Terek
Urozhaynenskii	Urozhainoe
Urvanskii	Dokshukino
Zol'skii	Zalukokoazhe

63 NORTH OSSETIAN ASSR
(Capital: Ordzhonikidze)

Independent cities: Ordzhonikidze. Malgobek

Raions:

Alagirskii	Alagir
Alanskii	Alanskoe
Ardonskii	Ardon
Dargkokhskii	Khumalag
Digorskii	Digora
Gizel'donskii	Gizel'
Irafskii	Chikola
Kirovskii	El'khotovo
Kosta-Khetagurovski	Kosta-Khetagurovo
Kurpskii	Vinogradnoe
Makhcheskii	Matsuta
Mozdokskii	Mozdok
Nartovskii	Nartovskoe
Ordzhonikidzevskii	Arkhonskaia
Pravoberezhnyi	Beslan
Prigorodnyi	Verkhne-Kambileevskoe
Sadonskii	Mizur

GROZNYI OBLAST (Capital: Groznyi)

Independent cities: Groznyi. Kizliar

Raions:

Achikulakskii	Achikulak

631 GROZNYI OBLAST -- Raions (cont.)

Goriacheistochnenskii	Goriacheistochnenskaia
Groznenskii	Groznyi
Gudermesskii	Gudermes
Kargalinskii	Kargalinskaia
Karanogayskii	Terekli-Mekteb
Kaiasulinskii	Kaiasula
Kizliarskii	Kizliar
Krainovskii	Krainovka
Krasnoarmeiskii	Krasnoarmeiskoe
Mezhdurechenskii	Mezhdurechie
Nadterechnyi	Nadterechnaia
Naurskii	Naurskaia
Novosel'skii	Novosel'skoe
Pervomaiskii	Pervomaiskoe
Predgornyi	Predgornoe
Shelkovskii	Shelkovskaia
Sovetskii	Sovetskoe
Sunzhenskii	Ordzhonikidzevskoe
Tarumovskii	Tarumovka

DAGHESTAN ASSR (Capital: Makhachkala)

Independent cities: Makhachkala
Buinaksk
Derbent
Izberbash
Kaspiisk
Khasaviurt

Raions:

Agul'skii Tpig

631 DAGHESTAN ASSR -----Raions (cont.)

Akhtynskii	Akhty
Akhvakhskii	Karata
Akushinskii	Akusha
Andalalskii	Andalaly
Babaiurtovskii	Babaiurt
Botlikhskii	Botlikh
Buinakskii	Buinaksk
Charodinskii	Tsurib
Dakhadaevskii	Urkarakh
Derbentskii	Derbent
Dokuzparinskii	Usukh-Chay
Gerbebil'skii	Gergebil'
Gumbetovskii	Mekhel'ta
Gunibskii	Gunib
Kaitagskii	Madzhalis
Kakhibskii	Kakhib
Karabudakhkentskii	Karabudakhkent
Kasumkentskii	Kasumkent
Kaiakentskii	Kaiakent
Kazbekovskii	Dylym
Khasaviurtovskii	Khasaviurt
Khivskii	Khiv
Khunzakhskii	Khunzakh
Kizil-Iurtovskii	Kizil-Iurt
Kulinskii	Vachi
Kurakhskii	Kurakh
Lakskii	Kumukh
Levashinskii	Levashi
Magaramkentskii	Magaramkent
Novo-Lakskii	Novo-Lakskoe
Ritliabskii	Ritliab

631 DAGHESTAN ASSR--------Raions (cont.)

Rutul'skii	Rutul
Sergokalinskii	Sergokala
Shuragatskii	Shuragat
Tabasaranskii	Khuchni
Tliaratinskii	Tliarata
Tsudakharskii	Tsudakhar
Tsumadinskii	Agvali
Tsuntinskii	Bezhta
Untsukul'skii	Untsukul'
Vedenskii	Vedeno

AZERBAIDZHAN ASSR (Capital: Baku)

Independent cities: Baku
Kirovabad
Mingechaur
Sumgait

Raions:

Agdamskii	Agdam
Agdashki	Agdash
Agdzhabedinskii	Agdzhabedy
Akhsuinskii	Akhsu
Akstafinskiy	Akstafa
Ali-Bairamlinskii	Ali-Bayramly
Astarinskii	Astara
Astrakhan-Bazarskii	Astrakhan-Bazar
Bardinskii	Barda
Belokanskii	Belokany
Dastafiurskii	Dashkesan
Divichinskii	Divichi

• 631 AZERBAIDZHAN ASSR-----Raions (cont.)

Dzhebrail'skii	Dzhebrail
Geokchaiskii	Geokchai
Imishlinskii	Imishly
Ismaillinskii	Ismailly
Kakhskii	Kakhi
Kariaginskii	Kariagino
Kasum-Ismailovskii	Kasum-Ismailovo
Kazakhskii	Kazakh
Kazi-Magomedskii	Kazi-Magomed
Kedabekskii	Kedabek
Kel'badzharskii	Kel'badzhar
Khachmasskii	Khachmas
Khaldanskii	Khaldan
Khanlarskii	Khanlar
Khillinskii	Khilly
Khizinskii	Altiagach
Khudatskii	Khudat
Konakhkendskii	Konakhkend
Kubatlinskii	Kubatly
Kubinskii	Kuba
Kusarskii	Kusary
Kutkashenskii	Kutkashen
Kiurdamirskii	Kiurdamir
Lachinskii	Lachin
Lenkoranskii	Lenkoran'
Lerikskii	Lerik
Marazinskii	Maraza
Masallinskii	Masally
Mir-Bashirskii	Mir-Bashir
Neftechalinskii	Neftechala
Nukhinskii	Nukha

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Pushkinskii	Pushkino
Saatlinskii	Saatly
Sabirabadskii	Sabirabad
Safaralievskii	Safaralievo
Sal'ianskii	Sal'iany
Samukhskii	Samukh
Shamkhorskii	Shamkhor
Shaumianovskii	Shaumianovsk
Shemakhinskii	Shemakha
Siazanskii	Siazan'
Tauzskii	Tauz
Udzharskii	Udzhary
Vartashenskii	Vartashen
Iardymlinskii	Iardymly
Ievlakhskii	Ievlakh
Zakatal'skii	Zakataly
Zangelanskii	Pirchevan'
Zardobskii	Zardob
Zhdanovskii	Zhdanovsk

Nakhichevan' ASSR (Capital: Nakhichevan')

Independent city: Nakhichevan'

Raions:

Dzhul'finskii	Dzhul'fa
Nakhichevanskii	Nakhichevan'
Norashenskii	Norashen
Ordubadskii	Ordubad
Shakhbuzskii	Shakhbuz

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63 Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast
(Capital: Stepanakert)

Independent city: Stepanakert

Raions:

Gadrutskii	Gadrut
Mardakertskii	Mardakert
Martuninskii	Martuni
Shushinskii	Shusha
Stepanakertskii	Stepanakert

GEORGIAN SSR (Capital: Tbilisi)

Independent cities: Tbilisi
Chiatura
Gori
Kutaisi
Poti
Rustavi

Raions:

Abashskii	Abasha
Adigenskii	Adigeni
Akhalkalakskii	Akhalkalaki
Akhmetskii	Akhmeta
Ambrolaurskii	Ambrolauri
Aspindzskii	Aspindza
Bogdanovskii	Bogdanovka
Bolnisskii	Bolnisi

• 631 GEORGIAN SSR----------Raions (cont.)

Borzhomskii	Borzhomi
Chiaturskii	Chiatura
Chkhorotskuskii	Chkhorotsku
Chokhataurskii	Chokhatauri
Dmanisskii	Dmanisi
Dushetskii	Dusheti
Gardabanskii	Gardabani
Gegechkorskii	Gegechkori
Goriskii	Gori
Gurdzhaanskii	Gurdzhaani
Kachretskii	Kachreti
Karel'skii	Kareli
Kaspskii	Kaspi
Kazbegskii	Kazbegi
Khashurskii	Khashuri
Khobskii	Khobi
Kutaisskii	Kutaisi
Kvarel'skii	Kvareli
Lagodekhskii	Lagodekhi
Lanchkhutskii	Lanchkhuti
Lentekhskii	Lentekhi
Makharadzevskii	Makharadze
Maneul'skii	Marneuli
Maiakovskii	Maiakovski
Mestiiskii	Mestia
Mtskhetskii	Mtskheta
Onskii	Oni
Ordzhonikidzevskii	Ordzhonikidze
Sachkherskii	Sachkhere
Sagaredzhoiskii	Sagaredzho
Samtredskii	Samtredia
Signakhskii	Signakhi
Telavskii	Telavi

631 GEORGIAN SSR----------Raions (cont.)

Terzhol'skii	Terzhola
Tetrit'karoiskii	Tetritskaro
Tianetskii	Tianeti
Tkibul'skii	Tkibuli
Tsagerskii	Tsageri
Tsalendzhikhskii	Tsalendzhikha
Tsalkinskii	Tsalka
Tsitelitskaro'skii	Tsitelitskaro
Tskhakaevskii	Mikha Tskhakaia
Tskhaltubskii	Tskhaltubo
Tsulukidzevskii	Tsulukidze
Vanskii	Vani
Zestafonskii	Zestafoni
Zugdidskii	Zugdidi

Abkhaz ASSR (Capital: Sukhumi)

Indepdendent cities: Sukhumi
Tkvarcheli

Raions:

Akhaliafonskii	Akhali-Afoni
Gal'skii	Gali
Gagrinskii	Gagra
Gudautskii	Gudauta
Gul'ripshskii	Dranda
Ochamchirskii	Ochamchire
Sukhumskii	Sukhumi

Adzhar ASSR (Capital: Batumi)

Independent city: Batumi

631 Adzhar ASSR------cont.

Raions:

Batumskii	Batumi
Kedskii	Keda
Khuloiskii	Khulo
Kobuletskii	Kobuleti
Shuakhevskii	Shuakhevi

South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast
(Capital: Staliniri)

Independent city: Staliniri

Raions:

Dzhavskii	Dzhava
Leningorskii	Leningori
Stalinirskii	Staliniri
Znaurskii	Znauri

ARMENIAN SSR (Capital: Erevan)

Independent cities: Erevan
Kirovakan
Leninakan

Raions:

Akhtinskii	Akhta
Akhurianskii	Leninakan
Alaverdskii	Alaverdi
Aparanskii	Aparan
Artashatskii	Artashat
Artikskii	Artik

• 631 ARMENIAN SSR----------Raions (cont.)

Ashtarakskii	Ashtarak
Azizbekovskii	Mikoyan
Basargecharskii	Basargechar
Echmiadzinskii	Echmiadzin
Gorisskii	Goris
Gukasianskii	Gukasian
Idzhevanskii	Idzhevan
Kafanskii	Kafan
Kirovakanskii	Kirovakan
Kotaikskii	Kanaker
Krasnosel'skii	Krasnosel'sk
Martuninskii	Martuni
Megrinskii	Megri
Nor-Baiazetskii	Nor-Baiazet
Oktemberianskii	Oktemberian
Sevanskii	Sevan
Sisianskii	Sisian
Shamshadinskii	Berd
Shaumianskii	Shaumian
Stepanavanskii	Stepanavan
Talinskii	Verin Talin
Vedinskii	Vedi

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Major Boundary Changes in the Caucasus Region since 1950

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Rostov Oblast

On January 6, 1954, Rostov Oblast was greatly reduced in area with the creation of a separate Kamensk Oblast, which was carved out of the northern part of Rostov Oblast. The reduced Rostov Oblast extends as far north as the Don River, but includes the industrial Rostov-Novocherkassk-Taganrog area north of the Don.

Stavropol'Krai -- Astrakhan' Oblast

On February 28, 1951, Stavropol'Krai annexed the newly created Chernozemel'skii Raion, carved out of the Stepnoi Raion of Astrakhan' Oblast. On January 14, 1952, Stavropol'Krai annexed the rest of Stepnoi Raion of Astrakhan' Oblast. The total area thus transferred from Astrakhan' Oblast to Stavropol' Krai is 22,500 square kilometers.

Georgian SSR -- RSFSR

On March 14, 1955, the Georgian SSR returned to the RSFSR the Klukhorskii Raion. This raion was set up within Georgia in September, 1944, out of the former Karachai Autonomous Oblast of Stavropol'Krai and the southwest corner of the Kabardian ASSR. The entire raion was returned in March, 1955.

631 to Stavropol'Krai. On May 26, 1955, the
131 Ialbuzi sel'sovet (village council), corresponding to the former southwest corner of the Kabardian ASSR, was transferred from Stavropol'Krai to the Kabardian ASSR.

Temporary Oblasts and Okrugs in Georgia, Azerbaizhan, Armenia and Daghestan

The periods of these areas are as follows:

1. Tbilisi and Kutaisi Oblasts of Georgia: Nov. 5, 1951 to April 23, 1953

2. Baku and Giandzha Oblasts of Azerbaidzhan: March 14, 1952 to April 23, 1953

3. Okrugs in Armenia: January 17, 1952 to April 18, 1953

4. Okrugs in Daghestan: early 1952 to April 28, 1953.

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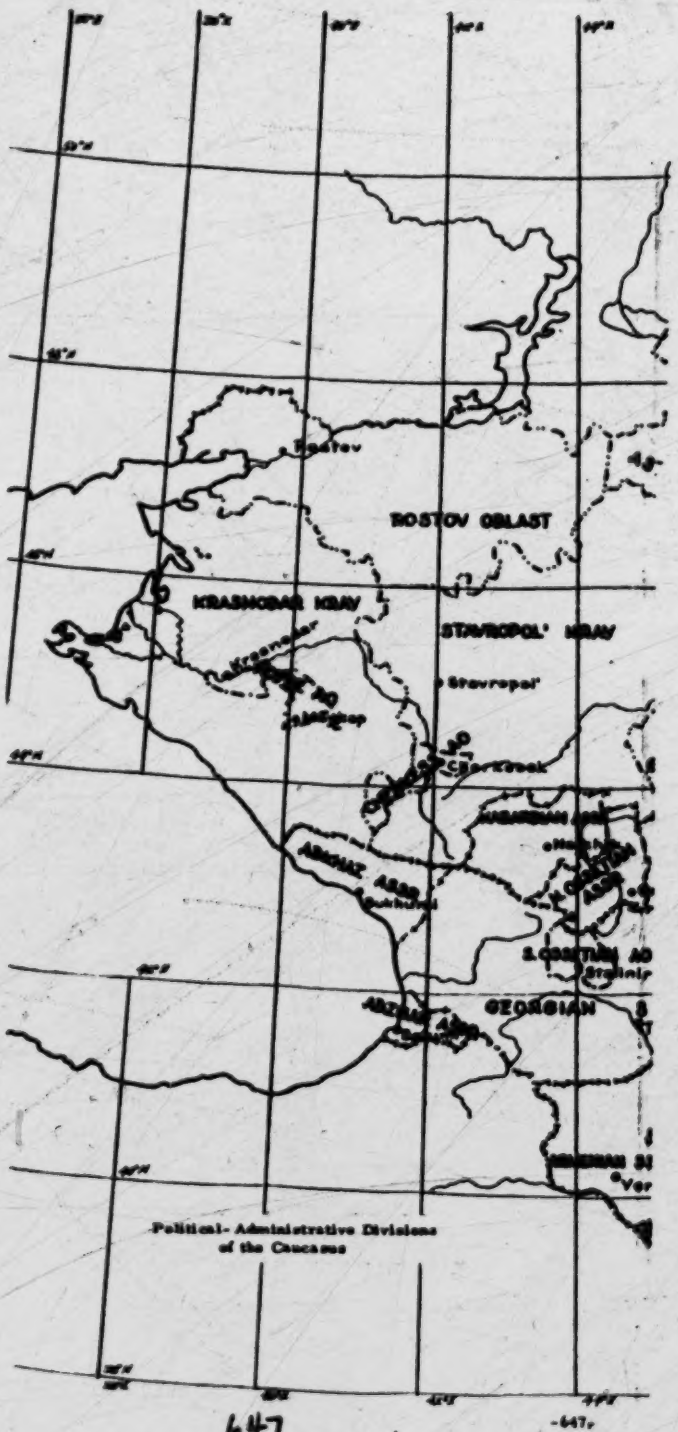

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471 since the death of Stalin there are some indi-
178 cations, for instance, in the case of the Azerbaijan oil ministry, that the central government will foster local rule in the future.

• 631 In the realm of state planning, the Cau-
178 casian administrative units represent a solution partly on economic and partly on nationalistic lines. The fact that nationalistic features are more emphasized in this area than elsewhere in Soviet Russia, is due to the ethnic complexity, not to say confusions of the Caucasus. In the Northern Caucasus administrative units like the Rostov, Astrakhan', Groznyy Oblasts, and the Krasnodar, Stavropol' Krays are basically economic units. Those units which are essentially ethnic, though numerous (Adyge AO, Cherkess AO, Kabardian ASSR, North Ossetian ASSR, Dagestan ASSR) are not very important, and their population forms roughly only 10 per cent of that of the whole North Caucasus. The Soviet South Caucasus on the other hand, has only ethnic units. The South Caucasus, a relatively small area, is inhabited by three different non-Russian nations (Armenian, Azeri, Georgia), each of them with the status of a Soviet Socialistic Republic. The territory of these republics was handled during the Czarist regime as a single political and economic unit. This resulted in these republics being even today more interdependent than other Soviet units of a similar grade. The stock-raising of Armenia and

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178 Azerbaijan, for instance, is handled as a whole. The stock is driven from the winter pastures of Azerbaijan (used as a cotton growing area during the summer) and spends the summer months in Armenia. In the field of industry the Baku oilfields and oil industry are connected through pipelines with the oil industry of Batumi, in Georgia. Similarly, the Rustavi steel mills of the Georgian SSR depend on the iron ore of Dashkesan which is in Azerbaijan.

178 Industrialization in agriculture, stock-
438 raising, and forestry follows the general Soviet patterns. The Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes are predominant, some of them covering large areas like the Gigant (in Rostov Oblast). This centralization makes it easy for the central government to introduce new industrial crops, like tea or various rubber plants, into the South Caucasus, or spread the cultivation of rice or cotton in the North Caucasus. At the same time it presents the opportunity to transform the nomadic features of eastern Caucasian stock-raising into a more sedentary one. In the field of industry proper and related fields, industrialization went ahead with great strides when compared with the 1913 status. In the Czarist period the Caucasus had an oil industry (Baku, Groznyy, Maykop), a mining industry (Chiatura, Sadon and Kedabek), some copper smelters (in Alaverdi and Kafan), and some manufacturing industries (like the food industry in western North Caucasus, the fishing industry

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

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a-1, 1 Administrative Boundaries as of January 5, 1955

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21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Osset] Caucasia RH1

Ca. 175 177 actions against the Turks. An Ossetin Major-General, K. Zankisov, fought in Poland against the insurgents of 1863–4 and he was by no means the only Ossetin Major-General of that epoch. Furthermore, an 'Ossetin Division' became famous in the course of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–8, when General Skobelev described its 'chivalrous gallantry' as being 'above any praise'.[12]

Ca. 177 538 Russian cultural work among the Ossetins started much earlier than among other mountain peoples. The first book to appear in the Ossetin language was printed in Moscow in 1798; its object was to serve as a kind of introduction to the study of the Bible. A long period of fruitful association with the Russians and the general peaceful approach of the Ossetins towards Russian military and political rule made them more open to the acceptance of Russian preponderance. The Ossetins were, as a matter of fact, the only people of the Northern Caucasus to produce a great writer in the person of Kosta Khetagurov (1859-1906) who was half Russianized himself and wrote in both the Ossetin and Russian languages. The Soviet régime greatly popularized Khetagurov as a symbol of Russian-Ossetin synthesis, which he undoubtedly was. He had a complete Russian education, had studied at St. Petersburg and was strongly influenced by such progressive Russian writers as Herzen and Chernishevsky, which makes him particularly acceptable from the Soviet point of view.

Ca. 423 448 474 691 Until the Ossetins gave proof of their loyalty to Russia during the war the Soviet régime had had to overcome Ossetin resistance to both the establishment of collective farms and the suppression of tribal customs. During the period of the collectivization Ossetin peasants waged a sort of guerilla warfare against 'socialist property' and while outwardly accepting collectivization, tried to transform the Kolkhoz into an instrument of their respective clans. Ossetin chairmen of collective farms and officials of local Soviets seem to have acted on the principle 'I decide who is a kulak and an enemy of the State and who is not'. Thus, at least during its initial stage, collectivization in Ossetia became a downright farce. Persons belonging to a rival clan were rendered innocuous by being denounced as kulaks; real kulaks, on the other hand, were promoted to the rank of respectable Soviet citizens if they happened to belong to the clan dominating the local village council or the collective farm concerned.[13]

Ca. [725] 631 142 S.U. 563 634 All such 'incidents' were forgotten when the Ossetins redeemed their reputation by their brilliant war record. In the fighting which resulted in the dislodgement of the Germans from the approaches to the Caucasus, Ossetin partisans operating from behind the enemy lines greatly assisted the Red Army.[14] As a mark of appreciation for their loyalty, the Soviet Government allowed the Ossetins to increase substantially the territory of their national republic. A decree of April 8th, 1944, stipulated

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R2.
[Osset] Caucasia RH1
[Kabardin?]

that three districts were to be added to the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. in their entirety as well as parts of three other districts. The major portion of this new Ossetin territory was sliced off the Stavropol Territory, but a section of it came from Ingushetia, which had occupied the western border area of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R. In this way the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. grew from 2,390 square miles before the war to 3,250 square miles. This territorial change altered the ethnographic character of the Republic, for together with its new territories Ossetia received a fairly large number of Russians who mostly lived in the two new 'Ossetin' towns, Mozdok and Malgobek. Russian communists thus obtained a greater say in the running of the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. at the expense of their Ossetin comrades. In the small Northern Ossetin Republic of the inter-war period (an Autonomous Province until 1936) the Ossetins had formed 84 per cent of the entire population against 13·4 per cent Russians and Ukrainians. In 'Greater Ossetia' however, the percentage of the Ossetins may have dropped to about 60 per cent while the Slav share may have increased accordingly.

In addition to the territorial expansion of Ossetia the Soviet Government made still another 'concession' to the Ossetins. The capital of the republic, Vladikavkaz, was allowed to assume the Ossetin name of Dzaudzhikau – a worthless gesture since Russian predominance in the town was not affected by the change of its name. Dzaudzhikau remained that which was implied in its former name of Vladikavkaz, meaning 'Ruler of the Caucasus'. It continues to be one of the centres from which Russian administration exercises its control over the mountaineers.

RE-EDUCATION OF THE KABARDINIANS

The Chechens and the Ossetins represent the two extremes in the attitude of the local Caucasus peoples towards the Russians – the most irreconcilable resistance in the case of the Chechens, and the most far-reaching appeasement in the case of the Ossetins. The Kabardinians, forming part of the once powerful Circassian group which had been broken up by Russian colonization and conquest, stand between these extremes. In the Second World War their attitude was not beyond reproach. The Kabardinians had their deserters and traitors, but the Soviet Government did not consider they were bad enough to justify the abolition of their Autonomous Republic.

During the important administrative reorganization which took place in the Caucasus towards the end of the Second World War, the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. was diminished by only 300 square miles, which were incorporated into Georgia. This, however, was not meant to be a punishment for the Kabardinians, but was directed against the Balkars who had inhabited the area in question. The small administrative reform

[Cf. category 116, pp. 185 ff., R1 Sov. Union — Analyst]

ment on 'serious shortcomings and mistakes' committed in Kabarda in the field of national policy. It stressed that conditions in Kabardinian education were in conflict with the constitution of the A.S.S.R., which stipulated the right of the Kabardinian people to schools in their own language.

Although the Kabardinians are by far more numerous and advanced than the peoples of the Soviet Far North, they suffer from the same acute shortage of national teaching-personnel which has been fatal to the national culture of many a minor Soviet nationality. Thus in 1948, the Kabardinian teachers' training college at Nalchik had but fifty-six Kabardinians out of a total of 559 students.[17]

It is to be expected that the survival of a truly Kabardinian culture and Kabardinian language will become even more remote with the increasing pressure of Slav colonization. Between 1926 and 1935 alone the number of Russians and Ukrainians in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. more than doubled; it increased from about 37,000 to 93,000. This increase was partly due to immigration, partly to the inclusion in Kabarda of a number of Cossack villages in 1932. After the war the numerical relation between 'natives' and colonists changed to the detriment of the former, owing to the forcible departure of the Balkars. Moreover more Russian colonists came into the country to staff new factories springing up around Nalchik.

½ [Cf. category 631, p. 193 - - Analyst]

THE CIRCASSIANS – A RESERVE OF SOVIET MIDDLE EAST POLICY

For the benefit of the remnants of the Circassian people, the Soviet Government set up two Autonomous Provinces in the western part of the North Caucasus area; the Cherkess Province in the Caucasus foothills and the Adyge Province in the Kuban plain.

Surrounded as they are on all sides by Russian territories these two national units have little chance of long-term survival. This applies in particular to the Adyge Province, whose capital – Maikop – used to be the third largest Russian oil centre after Baku and Grozny, before the development of the 'second Baku' between the Volga and the Urals.

Originally, Maikop was not included in the Adyge Province, which had a small Adyge majority in its initial stage (55·7 per cent various branches of Adyge, 42·7 per cent Russians and Ukrainians, and the rest made up of other Europeans and Armenians). The size of the Province was increased, however, before the war and the Adyge thus found themselves in the position of a minority. In 1930 the Adyge Province won doubtful 'fame' owing to its extraordinarily high percentage of disfranchized people. This was due to the arbitrary action of the local Soviet authorities, who had indiscriminately interpreted the terms of 'kulak', 'capitalist' and 'reactionary' with the result that 12 per cent of the entire adult population of the Province were deprived of their civic rights. — ½ [Cf. Cat. 116, p. 182 ff Sov. Union-Analyst]

21; Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RHJ

permanent and violent pressure and persecution, on the part of Oriental, non-Christian powers. The Russians avenged the sufferings and hardships which both Armenians and Georgians had endured from Turkish and Persian overlords. Although the primary motives of the Russians were hardly of an exclusively humanitarian nature they could claim, with some justification, that they acted in Georgia and Armenia as a protecting rather than as a colonial power.

The case of Azerbaidzhan, which covers Eastern Transcaucasia, is altogether different; unlike the Georgian and Armenian 'protectorates' that country has more the character of a colony. Azerbaidzhan is, indeed, the only part of Transcaucasia where Russian colonization has been conducted on a large scale.

In Western Transcaucasia the influx of Russian elements has always remained insignificant even if Russian cultural influences are promoted there as strongly as anywhere else in the Soviet Union. The two principal peoples of Western Transcaucasia, the Georgians and Armenians, enjoy a special privileged position. They are expected to encourage Russian state interests in their area, as it were, by their own initiative, but without visible interference by Russian colonists who in other Soviet Republics occupy commanding posts in cultural and economic life.

Nominally, Georgia and Armenia have the same status as Kirghizistan or Uzbekistan, but their actual status is on a higher level. Georgia is the only Soviet Republic, apart from the R.S.F.S.R., forming a miniature federation which includes two Autonomous Republics and one Autonomous Province. Thus the Georgians exercise within the framework of the Soviet constitution a certain guardianship over other peoples, a role which the Russians claim for themselves practically everywhere else in the Soviet Union. Armenia again is not only the State of the Armenians within the Soviet Union but also the spiritual home of the Armenian people scattered all over the globe.

TRANSCAUCASIA AND RUSSIAN MIDDLE EAST POLICY

Politically and strategically the whole of Transcaucasia forms a Russian wedge driven into the Middle East which has every possible chance of expanding. Lermontov seems to have felt the tremendous implications which the submission of the Caucasus mountains to Russian rule may have for both Russia and the peoples of the East. He may have had a premonition that the conquest of the Caucasus would open a new chapter in the history of many lands situated to the South of the great mountain system. In Lermontov's prophetic poem 'Dispute', two Caucasus mountains, Kazbek and Shat, talk to each other. Shat warns Kazbek of the 'powerful East crowded with people', but he fails to

population. In short, Tiflis was designated to avenge the defeat which democratic socialism had suffered in Petrograd and Moscow. 665

The liquidation by military action of Menshevik Georgia under these circumstances became a vital necessity from the point of view of the Bolshevik leaders. By establishing Soviet power in Georgia they attained several aims simultaneously. In Russia proper Bolshevik prestige was greatly enhanced by the fact that a province of the Czarist Empire had been recovered. The British Empire was embarrassed by Russia's enlargement of her access to the Middle East. More important than all this was the blow inflicted by the young Soviet State on 'World Menshevism', which led to a strengthening of the Russian grip on certain sections of the working-class of Western Europe. S.U. 648

STALIN'S FIGHT AGAINST 'NATIONAL' BOLSHEVISM

The proclamation of the Georgian Soviet Republic was a victory for Bolshevism, but, as yet, not for Stalin personally, since the original leaders of the Georgian Communist Party were hostile to Stalin and to his views on Georgia's future within the framework of the Soviet Union. Those Georgian Bolsheviks who took over the Tiflis Government after the collapse of Menshevik rule considered Stalin as a kind of renegade, because he had completely stripped himself of any Georgian national feeling and was determined to uphold against the Georgians the interests of the central power, which were ultimately Russian interests. Knowing his Georgian compatriots, Stalin feared that even the Georgian communists would strive for a measure of independence detrimental to Soviet centralism. He felt that the Georgian people with its strong historical state traditions and occupying the largest single territory of Soviet Transcaucasia needed to be more thoroughly watched than the Armenians or the Azerbaidzhani Turks. S.U. 6 643 Ge. 665

It was always Stalin who insisted on curtailing the powers of the Georgian Bolsheviks while Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders of the early period were prepared to grant them far-reaching freedom within the Soviet framework. It was also Stalin's idea to press the Georgians into a Transcaucasian Soviet Federation in order to keep them better under control. Such a Transcaucasian Federation might have been a commendable solution for a *rapprochement* between Georgians, Armenians and Azerbaidzhani Turks; it might have even become a means for creating a united front of the three peoples against Moscow centralism. Stalin's intervention, however, brought a different sort of federation into being. For Stalin, federation was no end in itself, but just a temporary instrument of Soviet policy to be cast aside after its aim had been achieved. At a time when Soviet centralism was not strong enough to rule Georgians, Armenians and Azerbaidzhanis from S.U. 631 563 Ge. 6 Ca. 631 643

* [Cf. category 635, p. 226 for continuity -- Analyst]

S.U. 631 563 Ge. 642 Ca. 631 642 Moscow, the Transcaucasian Federation was an intermediate agency by which the national sovereignty of the three republics could be limited. The cabinet of the Transcaucasian S.F.S.R. included ministers for agriculture, home affairs, home trade, finance, and local industry as well as the Chairman of the Transcaucasian State Planning Commission, who was usually a Russian. The existence of the Transcaucasian Federation enabled the Russian communists generally to play the role of arbiters.

Ge. 665 [642] The Georgian communists felt the weight of the Transcaucasian Federation more than anybody else, for the headquarters of the federal government were in Tiflis. The recognized leaders of the Georgian communists, like Budu Mdivani and Philip Makharadze, energetically opposed Stalin's federation manœuvre and wanted Georgia to become a direct member state of the U.S.S.R., which in their view should be but a loose federation. The ideal solution which they aimed at was, however, to have no Soviet Union at all, but to be linked with the Russian communists only through the Communist International.

In the early twenties the Georgian communists showed many signs of an independent policy, confirming Stalin's anxiety as to the future relationship between Georgia and the Soviet State as a whole. If Georgia could not be independent from Moscow, they wanted her to keep at least as many prerogatives of an independent State as possible. Thus they resisted Russian control over the Georgian railways and ignored the foreign trade monopoly of the Moscow Government by concluding contracts with foreign companies directly. In doing so they were in accord with the recommendation which Lenin had given to the Transcaucasian communists shortly after the formation of Soviet Georgia. This is what Lenin had advised: 'Make the utmost intense and speedy economic use of the capitalist West by means of a policy of concessions and by commercial intercourse. . . .'[22] Soviet Georgia also wanted to maintain an independent attitude in relation to the other Transcaucasian Soviet Republics and their subjects. Thus certain categories of Armenians and Azerbaidzhanis were ordered to leave the Georgian Soviet Republic so that the country might assume a more homogeneous national character. Georgian women marrying citizens of other Soviet republics lost their Georgian nationality. The central Government in Moscow declared all these discriminatory practices null and void.

Ge. [641]

Despite all appearances the Georgian communists were by no means chauvinists. They knew only too well that their régime was unpopular and that they had to maintain themselves in power by making concessions in every possible direction, including concessions to nationalist feelings. When taking over the Georgian Government in February 1921 the Bolsheviks claimed a membership of 20,000, of whom about one-half were expelled from the party almost immediately after the

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in a southwestern suburb of Krasnyy Sulin. The former plays an important role in the mechanization of the coal-mining operations. Before the Second World War, more than 10 percent of the Donbas coal was mined within Rostov Oblast.

On the basis of the coal resources, heavy industry is operating metallurgical plants at Taganrog and Krasnyy Sulin. Rostov is the home of *Rossel'mash*, the largest agricultural machinery plant of the USSR. Agricultural implements are also manufactured at Morozovsk. Other centers engaged in the production of machinery and metal products are Taganrog, Novocherkassk, Glubokiy, and Likhovskoy (at Likhaya station).

In the northern grain-growing district, wheat and sunflower are the dominant crops. Toward the southeast, barley and mustard become important; further on, toward the Caspian Lowland, the emphasis shifts to stock raising. Horses and meat cattle are gradually replaced by sheep in the drier areas. Cotton is grown to some extent in the south and the southeast. Several Cossack villages along the Don River, notably Tsimlyanskaya and Razdorskaya, have extensive vineyards. In a wide zone through the urban and heavily industrialized section of Taganrog-Rostov-Shakhty, truck gardening and the raising of dairy cattle are the principal agricultural activities. The principal agricultural centers are Millerovo and Chertkovo in the north and Sal'sk (with near-by Gigant state farm, one of the largest grain farms of the USSR) in the southeast. These and other towns throughout the oblast mill flour, extract sunflower oil, and process tobacco. The fish catch of the Don delta and adjacent Taganrog Gulf is processed at Azov, a small port southwest of Rostov.

Rostov Oblast is settled by Russians and a Ukrainian minority. Prior to the Second World War some Kalmyk elements were organized into a Kalmyk national rayon, northwest of Zimovniki. In 1944, following the abrogation of the Kalmyk Autonomous SSR, the rayon was also abrogated, and presumably the population was resettled elsewhere. In this connection, Rostov Oblast also acquired the westernmost section of the former Kalmyk Autonomous SSR.

Rostov lies on the elevated, right bank of the Don River at the head of the delta. Thanks to its favorable location at the junction of trade routes between the Black Sea, the Volga, the Ukraine, the European Center, and the Northern Caucasus, it developed early into an important commercial center and transportation hub. With the construction of the

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Maykop on the Belaya River at the north foot of the Caucasus, is the center of the oil field of Neftegorsk and Apsheronsk, more than 30 miles southwest. The city has a small-scale metallurgical industry and produces machine tools, agricultural and lumbering machinery, furniture, tobacco, canned goods, and meat. A 438

Stavropol' Kray

Capital, Stavropol'; area, 29,600, population, 1,500,000 SU

Stavropol' Kray reaches to the crest of the Greater Caucasus only in its extreme southwestern portion along the upper Urup, a left affluent of the Kuban'. The basic portion of the region lies in the northern foothills of the Caucasus, the so-called Stavropol' upland, and in the dry steppes to the northeast. The watershed between the Caspian and the Black Sea basins passes roughly along the Stavropol' meridian, near the western border of the kray. Due to this circumstance, only a narrow strip of territory along the western boundary receives the benefit of the humid westerly winds blowing from the Black Sea. The rest of the area, east of the Stavropol' upland, is characterized by a dry climate. The yearly precipitation decreases from 16 inches in the west to 8 inches in the east; insolation and summer heat are very pronounced. Consequently, water courses are poorly developed, and trees are entirely absent. In the western and central portions fertile black-earth and chestnut soils predominate; only in the extreme east does the region have a semi-desert character. 133* C 133

The population of the region is predominantly Russian, with a strong Ukrainian admixture. In the southwest lives another section of the Cherkess, or Circassian, ethnic group, which is organized into the Cherkess Autonomous Oblast. This region, now known as Stavropol' Kray, was first organized within its present approximate limits in 1924, when it was called North Caucasus Kray. In 1937 it was renamed Ordzhonikidze Kray; it received its present designation in 1943. Prior to the Second World War, it also included the Karachay Autonomous Oblast, a division located in the southwest on the slopes of the Greater Caucasus. This autonomous unit, with an area of 3,800 square miles and a population of 150,000, had been constituted in 1926, when it was separated from the original Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast (formed in 1922). The Karachay, a Turkic people who constituted about one half of the population of the autonomous unit, were among those accused of collaboration with the Germans during the Second World War. In 1943 the nationality was abrogated, the people were dis- SU 162 631 C 162 631 SU 728 631 C 728 631

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SU 631 928 C 631 928 persed and resettled, and the Karachay lost official recognition. The autonomous unit was abolished. Its major portion, including the capital, Mikoyan-Shakhar, now Klukhori, and the resort Teberda, and the village Uchkulan, now Madniskhevi, were ceded to the Georgian SSR, the strip along the upper Laba River passed to Krasnodar Kray; another portion, including the village Pregradnaya, was annexed to Cherkess Autonomous Oblast; the remainder became part of Stavropol' Kray proper.

SU 241 C 241 The climatic and soil conditions of the region are favorable to the development of grain farming and the raising of livestock for wool and meat, activities which prevail for similar reasons in the dry steppes of the Lower Volga Region, in northern Kazakhstan, and in Western Siberia. The main crops are winter wheat, sunflowers in the west, and cotton in the east. In the section bordering on the upper and middle Kuma River, irrigated farming is devoted to the raising of orchards, garden crops, and vineyards, the latter particularly in the Budennovsk–Georgiyevsk area. With the construction of the Nevinnomyssk Canal, to be completed during the current Five-Year Plan, the glacier-fed Kuban' River will be linked with the Yegorlyk, an affluent of the Manych, and new areas will be put under irrigation in the western part of Stavropol' Kray. Truck produce is grown intensively in the relatively urban areas of the health resorts (Pyatigorsk, Kislovodsk, and others) in the south and in the southwestern mountain area garden and dairy farming is carried on. In the northern and eastern steppes the raising of sheep is most important. On specially organized state farms two major breeds predominate: the merino sheep for the production of fine wool and the *volosh* sheep, which furnishes meat and coarse wool. The Alpine pastures in the southwest support the so-called Karachay sheep, which also is used mainly for meat. Dairy cattle are raised in the health resort district, and hogs and horses on the mountains slopes.

SU 236 C 236

SU [135] C [135] SU 438* C 438 The mineral resources of the region consist only of coal, which is worked in small amounts at Khumarinskoye and Ordzhonikidzevskiy, just north of Klukhori, of raw material for the chemical industry of Cherkess Autonomous Oblast, and of the mineral springs in the Pyatigorsk-Kislovodsk area. The products of agriculture and of the pastoral economy are partly processed within the region; some are exported in semi-processed form to other areas of the USSR. The principal export items are grain, vegetable oil, meat, tallow, dairy products, raw wool, fruits, and vegetables. The local industries are scattered

Until 1936 Transcaucasia formed a single political unit: the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, then one of the union republics of the USSR. With the promulgation of the 1936 Constitution, this federated republic was split up into its primary components based on the three principal nationalities: Armenian, Azerbaijan, and Georgian SSR's. Minor nationalities, such as Abkhaz, Adzhars, and Ossetians, are organized into lesser autonomous units such as autonomous SSR's or autonomous oblasts.

Petroleum is the most important single asset of Transcaucasia. The Baku oil region of world-wide significance is the principal petroleum producer of the USSR, furnishing more than one half the total output. Pipe lines for crude oil, kerosene, and other petroleum products lead from Baku across the entire region to Batumi on the Black Sea, next to Baku, the principal oil port and refining center of Transcaucasia. Before the Second World War the petroleum industry accounted for two fifths of all factory workers, two thirds of the use of electric energy, more than one half the industrial production, and almost two thirds of the exports of Transcaucasia. Since then, however, the creation of new industries and the increase of electric power sources have reduced the relative importance of this branch of the economy. Among the other important power resources are the coal mines of Tkibuli and Tkvarcheli in Georgia, especially the reserves of hydroelectric power, which equal the reserves of the European part of the USSR. Among the most important metal deposits are the manganese mines of Chiatura (Georgia), the second largest in the world, copper in Armenia, and iron in Azerbaijan.

Manufacturing industries are mainly devoted to the processing of the local agricultural products: fruit canning, wine-making, distilling, and cotton ginning. Azerbaijan has a well-developed textile industry, and many of the precious woods are used in wood-working plants. Heavy metallurgy is represented by the steel mills of Rustavi (Georgia) and the ferro-manganese works of Zestafoni (Georgia), and there are machinery plants in many of the large cities. Chemicals and cement are also produced.

In connection with the varied natural conditions and under the influence of the vertical zoning in the mountains, all rural economy forms are represented—from orchard farming in the irrigated sections to nomadic livestock raising in the drier areas. The land is divided according to usability as follows: one fifth is arid, due to the presence of rocks, sands, or marshes; another fifth is forested; more than one third is